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(aith thanks)

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INTERVIEW OF ADMIRAL STANSFIELD TURNER

DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

BY Stoler Talboth

TIME MAGAZINE REPORTERS

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#### PROCEEDINGS

ADMIRAL TURNER: This is very light, compared to what else the media are saying that is incorrect. I regard him as a poor manager of people. I have been in the people managing profession for over 30 years, and Number One, I don't think you can have the record of success I have had in the military without being a good people manager, and I pride myself on being very people-conscious.

What people are saying in articles like this is, everybody isn't happy out at the CIA today, and that is correct, but they are working, they are working hard, and they are in better conditions today than they were six months ago, before I made some of these changes, and we are going to be effective out there, and over the long haul I predict we will be happy, too, but what do you people want? Do you want happy spies or do you want effective and well-controlled spies?

The media have gone overboard in listening to the gripers who have lost their jobs. It is unfortunate. I don't like to ask people to lose their jobs, but it had to be done in the name not only of short-term effectiveness, but in the name of the long-run good of the agency. In fact, we might not have an agency of any effectiveness in five or ten years if we don't do something drastic with the personnel situation, and it won't be long before it dawns upon the

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35-year-olds in the organization that what I am doing is a tremendous boon to them, the future of the CIA.

INTERVIEWER: In the sense that?

ADMIRAL TURNER: Today, in the four top supergrades of the agency, between three of them, there is only a one-year spread in the average age of all the people in each grade. We have pushed some marvelous people who came into this agency in the wake-of World War Two and the Cold War through the system, and they are all up at the top, and they are all there, 50 years of age, and when they go, Strobe, in a few years, as they will -- the average retirement age is 52 -- there is going to be a great void, so I am cleaning some of that out and making room for the 35-year-olds to begin moving, so that when we have to fill all those places up there, we have people who have got some experience. Otherwise, I am just going to have to jump them, because there is a big difference.

If Time Magazine has all its vice presidents retire in a three-year period, you go to Newsweek and U. S. News and World Report and a lot of other places, and you get good vice presidents. I can't do that in the section of the CIA that has had these reductions in force. I cannot go out on the street and get a trained spy. I have got to grow them from within.

So, this painful process, which really was a small

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percentage cut of those who were forced to leave, is not because I am mean and not a good people manager. It is because I am really looking after the long-term people interests, or I am not going to have trained, capable leaders for the 1980's and 1990's, because all these old fellows are going to retire, all at one time, because they are all bunched up there. End of speech.

passing judgment on what is good personnel management.

Because people gripe doesn't mean they are not being wellmanaged. The object in life is not to make people happy.

If you can do that and be effective and have their respect,
that's great, and I will get there, and I'll guarantee you I
will get there. You are writing your story a year too early,
but I am going to get effective, and I am going to get their
respect, and then I'll get their happiness.

INTERVIEWER: Well, you understand that what we are doing here is reporting, not passing judgment so much ourselves.

ADMIRAL TURNER: It is shallow reporting, because there are no facts behind it. What are the facts behind that statement that I am a poor people manager?

INTERVIEWER: There is widespread controversy and criticism, and I hasten to add something that I pointed out in one take in the story that I have already sent out, which

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is that every single one of your predecessors, especially during the time of troubles that has prevailed at the CIA for the last five or six years, has had more than he considered his share of controversy to deal with. This happens to have been your lot.

There are three charges made against you, and this is one of them. The other is that you were, you know, empire building, and trying to make yourself an intelligence czar last year. I think I know the counterargument to that. I would be very interested in yours. The third is that your sweep or whatever you want to call it of the DDO was unnecessarily brutal or insensitive, or something like that.

Those are the three charges, and lots of people say it, including people fairly high -- not the highest, but at high levels in the National Security Council and State Department, and other than just at the agency. So, it is something we have to report. That is our feeling on it.

ADMIRAL TURNER: You ought to put it in context.

You are getting mainly the gripes of those who were asked to leave. How do you dismiss 212 people in a nice, pleasant way? You can go out on the street and talk to lots of those 212, and they have all got a different way, but when you get down to the bottom line, because I have talked to a lot of them, the bottom line is, I wouldn't go. You'd go, and you'd go, but I wouldn't go. That is the bottom line of how they



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would make it more pleasant, and in addition, the ones who get out on the street in an unprofessional way talking with the media about their complaints have said it was cold. Each one was addressed by his superior. He wasn't given a two-sentence letter. He was given a personal interview, of which the letter was then simply an affirmation that he had to go look in the rest of the agency for replacement, and he will get a nice letter when the time comes if we don't place him elsewhere, but he was given a personal notice that he was going. Nobody tells about that, because they are all unhappy.

It wasn't done as brutally as everybody says, and it is just ironic that the media are so enthusiastic about all these good old experienced spies who brought you all the things that you railed against for all those years, and now the fact that they are being asked to retire under a special retirement program that the Congress set up just to ensure that in an organization like this, where you must grow the new executives from within -- you can't go outside -- that you have a pruning process at the top to make room for that -- It is very similar to the military, who can't go outside and get admirals and generals from the business world, and they have a pruning system. It is different. It is more established. It is more understood.

The problem I have is that this is a new, young organization. It is 30 years old. It has never worried yet



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about its personnel situation for the long haul. You can run for 30 years holding your breath, and that is what we've done, with excellent people, but they only last so long, and there is a void now at the top. That is, there is a perceivable void coming at the top, and I am taking the action to set up a personnel management system, of which this is just the first step, the most painful part of the step, that will let us run for the long run, on an endurance run, until we have intelligence for this country when your children are interviewing my successor's successor's successor.

INTERVIEWER: Maybe if I could break in a little bit, Strobe explained this article extremely well yesterday — I just haven't had a chance to talk to you — and said that this part of the article, DEO cuts and past abuses, they hope will be a very minor part. Maybe you can tell the Admiral a little bit about that, as you did with Jack yesterday, the kind of thing you have in mind.

INTERVIEWER 1: Yes, I would like to. Right. Let me sketch what we are trying to do. Let me also say that I can't say mea culpa on behalf of the magazine for including a sentence like that. It is a privilege to be able to sit down with a high Administration official so shortly after he has had a chance to read an article about him in Time

Magazine. I don't know whether I should be glad or unhappy that only one sentence has a red line on it. Maybe there are



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lots of others that would have orange lines or something.

ADMIRAL TURNER: That is the only one that bothered me. I don't mind being criticized, and I don't do everything right.

INTERVIEWER 1: Well, criticism is part of the story, and it is up to us to put it into context, and part of putting this into context we will now be able to do better as a result of some stuff that Herb and Dennis gave me yesterday on the background of the DDO thing, the fact that you inherited this situation --

ADMIRAL TURNER: I didn't even propose the cut.

on, and the fact that of the 820, only 45, is it, are actually in any sense fired, the first 212, and that many others are going to be relocated or retired, and so forth and so on, and if we spend any time on that at all, we will put that into context, but the subject of our cover story is not Stansfield Turner and whether he is overweening, or what kind of a people manager he is. It is what kind of --

ADMIRAL TURNER: I didn't complain about overweening because I didn't understand it. You will have to give me a dictionary. Okay, go ahead. I'm sorry.

INTERVIEWER 1: I am not sure it is entirely uncomplimentary. I think you probably have to be -- to the extent that I understand the word, you probably have to be



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We want to look at your --

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overweening in a job like that or in the job you left.

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INTERVIEWER 1: Okay, shoot.

ADMIRAL TURNER: It has got to be a well-coordinated operation across the many agencies involved in it. It has

INTERVIEWER 1: Yes. We want to ask some big questions, such as, what kind of intelligence community should a democracy have, specifically the United States, in the late seventies and 1980's? What kind is it likely to have as a result of the constraints and the convulsions, the constraints that have been imposed and the convulsions that it has undergone, during the last four or five years? really is the subject of our story. To the extent that there is a face to attach to that story, it is yours, because assuming you aren't on your way out the back door within the next couple of months -- and I believe on the basis not only of what you have said, but what I have heard elsewhere in town, that that is not the case, that you are going to be around for a while -- you are the guy who is going to have to preside over at least an initial answer to those questions, and that is what I want to talk about.

ADMIRAL TURNER: You are going to get me off of

in four sentences.

ADMIRAL TURNER: Okay. I can describe it for you

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got to be an organization that encourages differing and dissenting interpretations. It has got to be an organization that is as open as possible with the American people, and it has got to be an organization that operates under a system of checks and balances, oversights and controls such that the American people have assurance we are doing what we are supposed to do and not doing what we are not supposed to do, but with latitude within that ethical, legal constraint to do the job effectively.

I believe that with the Executive Order that was signed today by the President, with the spadework that has been going on for the last 12 months under this Administration, we can achieve all of those objectives, but it won't be It is going to take another couple of years of shakedown, first to turn the Community into a true community -my first point on coordination. Intelligence that we are judging in your terms that you mentioned, Strobe, is not -we are not building a system that is fit for a democracy. are building a system that is fit for the largest democracy in the world, and the difference in intelligence today from many years past is, there is no way any other country besides perhaps the Soviet Union can have the type of intelligence that we do, because it is so costly, so technical. countries can no longer compete across the full spectrum of intelligence operations that we do, so we bear a particular



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responsibility today to the whole free world.

I am not denigrating other intelligence organizations. Some of them are superb. — I am talking about free ones, now — in their own areas, but none have the breadth that we do, but that causes us special problems that people frequently don't understand in other countries, because you have to bring all this together. It is a large organization, and already I see very encouraging signs, and partly as a result of the new authorities that have in fact been mine since August, when the Presidential decision was made of which the order today was the embodiment, that the Community, whether they be housed in Defense, or the State Department, or the Department of Energy, or wherever it may be, want to pull together, and are doing so better.

I am very, very encouraged with this aspect of it.

I have put together the first budget that a DCI, Director of
Central Intelligence, put together without being committeed.

I was it. It is a good budget. It is a tight budget. It
was hotly debated within the Intelligence Community, but it
ended up in an amicable situation in which people's interests
were well represented, and I don't think anybody went away
disgruntled that he hadn't had a fair day in court.

We have a long way to go yet, to tie all these ends together, to be sure that what everybody is doing is coordinated so that you don't drop between the cracks, so

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you don't waste the taxpayers' money by duplicating, so that when one person collects some information that another one needs, that it gets there.

The second point. I think we are making progress in the analytic side. I am very proud of some of the national estimates we have done. It is a shame I can't discuss them in detail in unclassified form, but I can assure you that we have undertaken in the last six months some of the difficult analyses, like the one that led to the Team A-Team B fiasco last year at this time, and we have brought together the Community's talents on these in a way that has led to a harmonious resolution of the differences without turning out pablum, without turning out intelligence by compromise.

Where there are dissenting views, they are clearly stated, but we haven't had people at each other's throats.

We have sat down, and I have forced people to say that we -very few footnotes, which is the usual way of expressing dissent. I am opposed to that. I want the dissent to be in the text. I want the primary view to be stated -- we believe there are 22 missiles in this situation -- and then I want the dissenting view -- we believe that there are 15 missiles in this situation. The reason for these differences is the following, A, B, C. Do you see what I mean? In that way the dissenter's view is read by the reader, not just



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tucked in the corner, but that way the dissenter must also express his reasons in the same terms as the assenter, if you see what I mean, and the reader may compare them easily.

We are making real progress on this, and some of the estimates that we have done in recent months, I believe, are exceptionally --

INTERVIEWER: Well, you can't, of course, discuss them in detail, but can you discuss them in any sort of general way, but less general than you just have? What sort of issues?

ADMIRAL TURNER: Well, take the strategic balance, the issue that was Team A-Team B of last year. We have redone that. I will be briefing it to Congress starting tomorrow. The dissenting views are there, but they are clearly laid out so that people can grasp them. There isn't this acrimony that existed last year, where people just took extreme positions in order to be sure the compromise came out as close to their position as they could.

People have taken what they think is their position. We have been able to resolve some of them, because they were really more of emotion than they were of substance when they were forced to write them down concretely. Those we couldn't resolve, we have left and clearly elucidated.

On top of that, we have found better ways to illustrate the comparisons of these forces.

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On my third angle, I am just so proud of what we have contributed in the last nine months to the public debate on major issues by a policy of greater openness. Look at this morning's newspaper. One of them had a big, long story about Soviet oil extraction problems. We triggered that off last April by releasing a study on the Soviet oil problem.

Now it has been germinating. People have been attacking it.

People have been supporting it. Here is one that comes out this morning that comes to all the same conclusions and says we're wrong. That's fine.

We put out a study on the Soviet economy and its prospects, several of them, as a matter of fact, a study on international terrorism, a study on the world energy situation, and all these have given the taxpayer a return on his money for investment in intelligence. We have not compromised our central information base or the way we get our information, and in my opinion we have enhanced the quality of national debate on these key issues.

I intend to keep on with this program. I will be criticized sometimes for supporting the Administration's policy, and I will be criticized sometimes for not supporting it. I am not doing either. I am giving the information that we have.

Finally, I am very encouraged by the progress we have made in the oversight areas. Our relationship with the

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two Committees of Congress is very good, but "good" should not be interpreted to mean anything but an oversight, and overview process. We report to them. They interrogate us.

They quiz us. But also, that process is very helpful to us.

We get a feel for what they, representing the people of this country, want us to do, and what bounds we can operate in.

We get advice. We get support when we need it with other parts of the Congress. We have a body we can turn to now so that we don't get bandied back and forth between two or three Committees who want to pull us in different directions. We have somebody we can go to and say, I've got a problem with another portion of the Congress, will you help me? But they are also conducting very thorough oversight, and I am confident from the way this has evolved over this past year that when we write the new charters, which will be the legislative enforcement of many of the things that were signed today by the President in an Executive Order, that we will find the right balance between too much control and too little, because there are clear risks in the process of oversight.

The first risk is that we will end up with intelligence by temerity. We won't take any risks, because somebody might criticize us. The second is exposure. If you have too many people viewing a sensitive operation, it may get blown into the public, and cost somebody's life or



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Approved For Release 2004/10/12 : CIA-RDP88-01314R000300150016-0 abort the operation or whatever, but I have found understanding in the Congress with regard to how we set up the rules for the disclosure, and I think they are finding that we are able to give them what they need for oversight while retaining enough control to protect people and interests that are vital.

INTERVIEWER: Could we talk about that for a I think if there is a concern, a widespread concern about the future of American intelligence, it is probably focused on the whole area of covert action, and not on whether the world's richest democracy -- whether it is the largest or not I don't know -- is capable of gathering information and analyzing it. It is a question of whether the United States has left itself with what Bill Colby used to call some option in between a diplomatic protest and sending in the Marines.

There is a widespread perception -- perhaps it is a misperception -- that the answer is, no, it hasn't left itself with that option, and that the Community over which you preside is crippled in that respect.

ADMIRAL TURNER: I neither think it is crippled nor that there is going to be undue emphasis on it. treading a fine line in between. In the past, the country not only wanted us to collect intelligence, they wanted us to influence the events that we were getting intelligence



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Approved For Release 2004/10/12 : CIA-RDP88-01314R000300150016-0 about: Iran -- Cuba, Vietnam, Angola, and all those that tried to use the Central Intelligence Agency to take political action to effect the outcome of events. think the country wants that much interference in other people's affairs by covert means today as it has in the past. I don't think it is as effective today as it was in the past, and frequently it was not effective in the past, as you well The batting average is not big league. dedicated to preserving for this country the capability to turn to political action when, Number One, it suits the purpose, and Two, it is properly authorized.

That doesn't mean by the intelligence people. This is not intelligence business. This is an adjunct to our business. It fits with it. We are the best qualified to do it, but it is not our profession. We are happy to do it when the country wants us to.

INTERVIEWER: The country in the person of the President?

ADMIRAL TURNER: And the Congress. Congress passed a law called the Hughes-Ryan Amendment which requires that we notify them when we are undertaking covert action, so there is a double check on anyone doing covert action in this country. One is the whole National Security Council process. culminated in the person of the President, and the other then are the Committees of the Congress, who are to be notified of



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this and can presumably find ways to register objections they feel as appropriate.

So, I think there are adequate controls. certainly admit to you that I have some concern about undue amount of notification. I would like to see us notify fewer Committees of the Congress, because you can't start an action like this and in the middle of it have it go public.

> Is it still eight? INTERVIEWER:

ADMIRAL TURNER: It is still theoretically eight that the Committees are understanding, and we hope that as these Intelligence Committees get well established, and they have representation from the other six Committees, if you see what I mean -- the members overlap.

INTERVIEWER: There are two, one for each House? ADMIRAL TURNER: Yes. That we will be able to do less formal notification up there, and let the two Committees spread the word to those others who need it.

INTERVIEWER: Admiral, you will have a lot easier time dissolving my skepticism or whatever criticisms entailed in that article, the item that we talked about at the beginning, than you will dissolving my skepticism on the point we are talking about now. I just do not understand how it is possible to conduct in assured secrecy covert operation abroad with the degree of disclosure that you are legally obligated to now. Is there any way you could --



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ADMIRAL TURNER: We are doing it. We are doing it on a small scale today. We have not by any means abandoned covert action. While it has been much scaled down from the height of the fifties and sixties, it does continue. I arrived here in March, and we haven't had any leak of any covert action operation since that time, and I think that the Congress is acting in a very responsible way here.

INTERVIEWER: Are we doing as much as you feel we ought to have been doing, given the needs on the ground abroad?

ADMIRAL TURNER: Yes. Unequivocally, yes. I have on a number of occasions gone to our covert action people and said, I see the country has a problem in such and such an area today, would you develop me a covert action plan, because I want to have it in my pocket when I go to a National Security Council meeting?

I am not the guy who should push covert action. I am not a policy-maker, but if someone who is a policy-maker at a meeting like that says, Turner, what can you do for us in the way of covert action here, I like to reach in my pocket and have it there, ready, and in all the times, which are quite a few, that I have asked for that support, I have not found it such an attractive alternative that I thought people were missing the boat.

A couple of times it has been accepted. I mean,

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the idea has percolated, and we have gone ahead, but on the whole I have not found it a very attractive option. When I was asked for it, I would present it, but would not be able to argue strongly for it because it didn't look like it was that good.

INTERVIEWER: So we have been able to keep doing it where you felt it was necessary? There has been no leak of significance damagingly --

ADMIRAL TURNER: That is correct.

INTERVIEWER: -- about an ongoing operation while you have been in this job?

An extension of that question is, do you think that you have the wherewithal and the necessary discretion from Congress to do what might be necessary given all sorts of hypothetical developments that I am sure your people have presented you with in the form of contingency papers and so on?

ADMIRAL TURNER: Only if there was in fact general Congressional — which almost means public — support for the nation's approach to the problem. I don't mean that the public would know about the covert action, but I am saying that if the Executive Branch wanted to go charging off on a covert action to accomplish Objective X, and the country as a whole did not approve of Objective X as represented to the Congress, then I think we would have a problem, but I think



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that is what the people want today in terms of some form of restraint on covert action.

INTERVIEWER: Oh, I agree. I am glad we are able to keep the dialogue going, because I realize it is both the most interesting and the most difficult aspect of the subject that we are going to try to address.

ADMIRAL TURNER: Yes. I hope you don't devote the whole piece to covert action, because as I say, that is such a small portion of --

INTERVIEWER: Well, we are not. It is a small portion. How big a portion? Is there any way you can give me some idea of the percentage or amount of resources, human and financial, that are being spent in that area?

ADMIRAL TURNER: About all I can say is that it is very small, and it takes a limited number of people. It takes sort of a stand-by capability. I mean, what we are doing today is operating in covert action rather modestly, but retaining, not a large, but a cadre of skill to do different things if we are needed, if you see what I mean.

INTERVIEWER: Well, you see, that is the question.

Are we operating modestly because of the climate and because of the dead end of the past, of the last five years that is on your shoulder, or are we operating modestly because we ought to be operating modestly?

ADMIRAL TURNER: I can't see in many cases where



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there is a real good case for it, and part of it is the greater visibility today of anything you do, and I am not talking just about leaks. I am talking about the persistence, quite proper, of the media in general, but let's say Country X is having an election tomorrow, and we like Party A and don't like Party B. Don't you feel that if we go into that country and started to feed money to people in Party A -- assuming we are totally free of leaks in the United States --

INTERVIEWER: Big assumption.

ADMIRAL TURNER: Big assumption. That there is also a high probability that there will be a leak in Country A, or Country X, or whatever I called it, and if there is a leak in Country X that we have fed money to Party A, they may prefer not to have ever had that money. It may redound against them.

I don't think people worried about that 15 years ago. Right?

INTERVIEWER: Maybe they should have.

ADMIRAL TURNER: There wasn't -- well, I don't think it was exposed 15 years ago. Today we are getting some exposures of what was done 15 years ago.

INTERVIEWER: And some of the personalities are the same.

ADMIRAL TURNER: But in a sense, you could say, we got away with it in the past, but today you probably



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wouldn't get the politicians in Party A in Country X to accept the money, for fear that if it became public they would lose more than they would gain. So, I am saying, some of the tools that have been used in the past have different effectiveness in a different world climate.

INTERVIEWER: Are you saying that since you came into this job, we have not, the United States has not covertly funded friendly political forces in foreign countries?

ADMIRAL TURNER: I just don't comment on our operations one way or the other, because that gets me into a corner. If I say yes or no to that one, why, you would draw conclusions which may or may not be right, but I really plead with you that I should have perhaps added a fifth characterization to what I see as the reshaping of American intelligence today, and that is moving away from the two foci of intelligence for its first 20 or 25 years in this country.

The first was on covert action, which we have now discussed pretty thoroughly, why I think we need to shift away from it to some extent. The second was preoccupation with the Soviet Union, and particularly military aspects of the Soviet Union, and when you got past the Soviet Union, there were half a dozen countries in Eastern Europe that were their satellites that we were interested in, and when you got



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past that you got into the areas of the world where the Soviets were making forays, which then led to political action.

I am saying that today we have got to look at most of the 150-odd countries of the world in some way or another, because many, many, many of them we have legitimate needs for good intelligence information on, and of course in most of those countries that far transcends military matters. It gets into economic as well as political. So, the character of the whole organization has got to shift to accommodate that.

Let me not leave any doubt. Soviet military is the Number One intelligence issue, and must remain that, but I am saying without neglecting that cardinal line of defense we have got to be able to tackle how much wider a range of subjects today, and that in turn means immense problems in personnel programs, training people, recruiting people, and new techniques of analysis, new techniques of collecting information, because you weren't interested in wheat ten years ago.

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I am chastised today because we missed the Soviet grain harvest by 10 percent. Five years ago we didn't even The Department of Agriculture misses by 5 percent of the United States frequently. I would like to do better. I apologize for not hitting it on the nose. I am going to

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try to do better, but we are going through these throes of adjustment.

That brings you back to where I came in at the beginning. People are unsettled because the milieu is changing, the tasking is changing, the whole environment is changing, including the openness, including the oversight, which hasn't been here before.

INTERVIEWER: I appreciate your admonition that I not and that the magazine not dwell too much, disproportionately on the covert action thing. One of the reasons I am taking the opportunity to ask you about this is because, of all the people that I and my colleagues who are working on the story are talking to, both on the record, through Herb's good offices, and people we can encounter on our own, you are the only one, certainly on the record you are the only one who can talk at all authoritatively about that.

So, the fact that I do put some stress on that question doesn't mean that that becomes the exclusive preoccupation of the story. Don't get me wrong on that.

That said, I do have another couple of questions on that, because, you know, we have been reading so much about that in terms of past horror stories, but the question remains, has the pendulum swung too far the other way, so that we are deprived of being able to do things that we really ought to be able to do in certain extremis situations that



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Approved For Release 2004/10/12 : CIA-RDP88-01314R000300150016-0 come up?

ADMIRAL TURNER: Well, what would you like to do? Give me an example. I mean, not in a particular country, but the kind of thing you would like to do.

INTERVIEWER: All right, a country called Lower Slabovia, which is a very large, mostly desert, Middle Eastern kingdom which is terribly rich in oil, and we are extremely dependent on that oil, and all of a sudden the pro-American, fairly conservative monarchy is overthrown by a Qaddafi-like leftist pro-Soviet group. Do we have the wherewithal to do something about that situation short of sending in the Marines?

ADMIRAL TURNER: Did we ever?

INTERVIEWER: Yes, we did. We did with Mosedeq. in Iran. So, yes, we did.

ADMIRAL TURNER: All right.

INTERVIEWER: Do we now?

ADMIRAL TURNER: I am not sure, but I am not persuaded that my uncertainty is a result of our lack of capabilities in our closet.

INTERVIEWER: Yes. What is it?

ADMIRAL TURNER: I think what you could do with Mosedeg in 1953 and what you can do in a country overseas today, 25 years later, is quite different. The environment is so different. As I said in the previous illustration,

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evidence of external tampering, particularly from one of the major powers, has tremendous internal ramifications in a country like that today that it didn't back then, and it has tremendous external ramifications today that it didn't back then, particularly when we had a different relationship with the Soviet Union in many ways than we do today, but I think the skills, the capabilities that were available to us in those several quite successful covert actions in 1953 in Iran and in 1954 in Guatemala are still available to us today, if they are applicable to the situation, if they would in fact have a high probability of being successful.

INTERVIEWER: Is your confidence in the Congress and the current oversight arrangement such that that would not preclude you from using those tools if, all other things being equal, you felt that it was necessary to use them?

ADMIRAL TURNER: Yes.

INTERVIEWER: Okay, the last question on this trickiest of subjects. Are there any circumstances in which assassination is justified?

ADMIRAL TURNER: No. No, I shouldn't answer that question in that way. I tried to answer it before you used your last word. I am not passing judgment on whether it is justified or not. All I am telling you is that categorically I am prohibited from doing it, so I haven't in my mind been particularly worried about the moral question of whether it



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is justified or not. I am -- I guess it isn't quite legally.

It is in that Executive Order that was signed today, and it

was in the previous Executive Order.

INTERVIEWER: It was in President Ford's as well, wasn't it?

ADMIRAL TURNER: Yes. So, I am inhibited by

Executive Order. As I say, it is not legal. It is just a

fine point. It is not a law, but it is a direct order to me

by the President of the United States, and I am going to

carry that out.

INTERVIEWER: When President Ford -- I was covering the White House then, and I remember it very well. I think it was February of 1976, something like that.

ADMIRAL TURNER: February of 1976.

INTERVIEWER: President Ford got up and talked about that Executive Order, and he said that assassination was ruled out, assassination of foreign leaders was ruled out, and I asked a follow-up question about whether he meant to limit that to foreign leaders. Is it ruled out for any human being, whether he is privileged to be a leader or not?

ADMIRAL TURNER: Yes, sir. You, anybody.

INTERVIEWER: Even journalists?

ADMIRAL TURNER: Even journalists. It is unequivocal. Just, period, assassinations. It doesn't talk about who at all.

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INTERVIEWER: Is that a constraint that you feel prohibits in any way or limits the Intelligence Community from doing what it might have to do in imaginable circumstances?

ADMIRAL TURNER: The only way I have thought of that possibly inhibiting us is an overly legalistic interpretation of it.

INTERVIEWER: Of the word "assassination?"

ADMIRAL TURNER: Of the word "assassination." For instance, in a hijacking situation. Somebody could possibly overinterpret this that you were going into the plane with the intent to kill the hijackers as opposed --

INTERVIEWER: Or if you did kill the hijacker, for that matter.

ADMIRAL TURNER: Well, I think it depends on the definition of the word, but if you go in and you get into a gun battle with them, why, that is one thing. You are entitled to defend yourself, and so on, but you would have to get a lawyer on this.

INTERVIEWER: We've got some good ones.

ADMIRAL TURNER: I don't really think it is going to be a problem, and of course being an Executive Order, we do have the opportunity today, if we were in some extremis situation where it was justified to take human life for a good cause, like a hijacking situation, why, at least we can



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get the President to make an exception, you see. Now, if it gets into law, we are going to have to be very precise on how that law is worded so we don't get into an absolutely absurd situation. Nobody wants to do assassinations of the type that we are really talking about.

INTERVIEWER: Does it rule out paramilitary actions where people get killed? Where guns are fired?

ADMIRAL TURNER: No, that I don't think can be interpreted as assassination.

INTERVIEWER: Is assassination the word used in the Executive Order?

ADMIRAL TURNER: Yes.

INTERVIEWER: Okay.

ADMIRAL TURNER: We are retaining a paramilitary capability on stand-by as part of our covert action kit.

INTERVIEWER: All right. Moving right along, it is my impression from some conversations I have had in the last couple of weeks and indeed from the last time we did a fairly major story on the agency that the folks in DDO are getting more involved in the general areas of anti-terrorism and combatting international drug traffic, two targets of covert action that I think would be almost universally applauded, except perhaps by the people involved in those activities.

Is there anything at all you can tell me about

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the interest you have taken in that?

Have you upgraded an office within the DDO that has dealt with terrorism? Have you put some especially good people in charge of that? Have you diverted more funds into those kinds of less controversial covert action?

ADMIRAL TURNER: Yes, we have put more emphasis in this past year on both anti-terrorism and anti-narcotics. We have done it by allocating some increase of resources. We have done it by re-emphasizing to our chiefs of station in the areas where those conditions are important that that objective is high on their list when it is competing for their own resources. We have had some important successes in both areas, which again I wish I could describe to you in more detail, but we feel that in a number of instances it has been our intelligence, not our covert action — these two fields are really pure intelligence, from our point of view. I guess they could get into covert action, but they have not.

We have been able to abort intended terrorist operations from time to time by alerting people to them. Through our intelligence we have been able to assist the law enforcement agencies in getting information that led to their actions. We cooperate with foreign governments in both of these areas. In fact, it is one of the more encouraging things. If there has to be a terrorist black cloud on the horizon, the silver lining is that it is



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bringing cooperation between many nations in which the intelligence field is only one part, of course.

INTERVIEWER: That is interesting.

ADMIRAL TURNER: So, we are very willing to exchange information with our fellow free world intelligence agencies during a period of crisis, like the Lufthansa plane that ended up in Mogodisho, Somalia. I mean, everybody who could contribute to that was feeding it in to the Germans. It was their problem and their action.

INTERVIEWER: Including you folks?

ADMIRAL TURNER: We were feeding everything we could to them, and I am sure so were the French, and the British, and their other friends. I mean, after all, it is just your humanitarian instincts. If you have any intelligence that would be helpful in this, why, you've got to contribute it. It has lessened some of the barriers to a flow of intelligence in this one area, and I think that may be helpful to us in other areas over time in working with our close allies.

So, there is some silver lining.

INTERVIEWER: What are some of the other areas of opportunity? You say it could help in some other areas.

ADMIRAL TURNER: Oh, I am just saying when you get to exchanging information, you are dropping the barriers in exchanging intelligence.

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INTERVIEWER: I mean, are you thinking of sort of economic crises that might occur where the CIA would have very good information on availability of food in different parts of the world, that kind of thing? Maybe you didn't have a specific in mind.

ADMIRAL TURNER: I really didn't have a specific in mind, and it would vary with every country. Different countries have particular skills or access to information which we don't have, and we have some that they don't have, and as appropriate, we try to promote exchanges with our close friends and allies.

INTERVIEWER: Does most of what you said about anti-terrorist covert action apply to anti-international drug trafficking, too?

trafficking, we have maybe even more of a problem than we do in anti-terrorism, maybe not. Maybe it is a fine line, but we have to be very, very careful there with the regulations that have been established that we don't trespass on the rights of Americans, and we can get into a position where — we only operate overseas in these matters, but obviously sometimes the Americans involved in drug traffic are themselves overseas, so we have to work in close concert with the Drug Enforcement Agency to be sure that they do the law enforcement aspects of things, and that we stay out of



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any activity that involves Americans.

That is somewhat inhibiting at times, but it is one of these compromises you have to draw between preserving rights of our people under the Constitution and being as effective as you would like to be in some of these areas.

INTERVIEWER: As far as you are concerned, has the persistent proposal, persistently rejected, to split covert action away from the CIA altogether and give it to another agency in the government been buried once and for all, or is that something that you in your tenure and your successors are going to have to cope with?

ADMIRAL TURNER: Strobe, I have been around the government a long time, and I have seen very few things that ever get buried permanently, seriously.

INTERVIEWER: Could you make the argument on the record one more time, just because one of my editors in particular is interested in that?

ADMIRAL TURNER: I came into this organization with a prejudice, thinking that it should be separated, at least it should be separated within the CIA out from under the DDO and over under me or something quite separate. My experience in this past year has persuaded me that that would be costly to the government and perhaps dangerous, costly in that you would end up constructing an organization, including overseas people, just for covert action, whereas today we get

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dual service out of people, and particularly when our covert action is at a low level. The reservoir is the clandestine collection of intelligence people, if you see what I mean, and you shift them as you have to if you have a covert action operation, whereas you would create a whole new organization and bureaucracy, and that in itself would begin to generate a demand to do something.

You see, we can keep the people busy doing a very essential intelligence collection function if there is no demand for covert action, so I think it would create a bureaucracy that would try to, not maliciously, because the people in it would be good and energetic, would be promoting covert action. I don't look on that as our function, as I told you before. I look on it as being ready to do what we are asked to do, but not being out druming up business.

INTERVIEWER: One other "why not" question. Why did we have to work so hard this week to get figures on the budget to include in our story?

ADMIRAL TURNER: Figures on the intelligence budget?

INTERVIEWER: Yes, and the way it is divided up.

Why is it that we have to go back to Marks and Marchetti and
factor in inflation and take a wild estimate? Why can't we
simply know from an authoritative source, like Herb Hetchy's
office, or something like that? Why must the budget,

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and especially as it is broken down, remain secret?

admiral Turner: Simply because you are underestimating the ability of other people to focus on where they should take countermeasures to our intelligence collection efforts, if they know where we are concentrating our efforts. I mean, where would you stop? Would you want to know exactly how many dollars we are putting into a particular airplane based in a particular country with a particular camera?

INTERVIEWER: NO --

ADMIRAL TURNER: The countries all within range of that airplane from that base would obviously --

INTERVIEWER: -- that would be unreasonable even from a journalist.

ADMIRAL TURNER: All right, then how do you draw a line? You see, that is the problem, drawing a line between there and either one figure for the total budget or no figure is almost impossible, and if we drew the line not at the airplane but at, say, the next level up, you might be satisfied, but your competitor would want to know a little more, because he would write a better story if he knew about that airplane.

INTERVIEWER: But you are not going to do it under pressure from the press anyway. You are going to do what you think is right, here, and presumably you could find some place to draw the line where you wouldn't be giving away

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I don't think you can. ADMIRAL TURNER: think you can draw a line beneath the single figure of the total budget, which we have told the Congress we would not I believe if you break it down oppose their releasing. from that -- now, obviously, I can't logically say that some particular one number under that would break down the world, but what I am saying is, I can't tell you which number I can give without somebody else demanding a different one, and if I give you one sub-number, then you take Marks and Marchetti, and you get a little bit more out of it. You know what I mean. Even if it is not a number that in itself -- it narrows it down by 10 percent or something, if you see what I mean, and if I give you an innocuous -- a number for all the janitors or something, it lets you begin to get down to the number of agents we've got, in progressive order, for instance.

So, I really feel there is a great danger in erosion if we go below a single number.

INTERVIEWER: Thank you. One last question, and I will turn off the machine. You do have some defenders, by the way, and I talked to a couple of them in the last few days, too, and one of them, who is a rather high-ranking official in the government, said that --

INTERVIEWER: You found them both?

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INTERVIEWER: What? That is the good news. The bad news is, whenever I find one of your defenders, they always sort of say, well, you know, I don't understand why everybody else is bitching, and they sort of all talk as though they think they are a minority of one, but they are not a minority of one.

The point I wanted to let you take off on was, this gentleman I was talking to said he thinks that you are going to go down in the annals of American intelligence as the first true Director of Central Intelligence.

ADMIRAL TURNER: That is my objective, not from a personal point of view, but because that is what the Executive Order that was signed today wants, that is what the President told me he wanted a year ago when he asked me to take this job, and that is what I have been trying to do ever since, and that doesn't mean empire-building, it doesn't mean trying to be a czar, it means the things I have told you today, trying to be a good coordinator of the intelligence operation.

set up to be in 1947, and has never been achieved, and I am not out to run the Defense Department, or anybody else. I am out to do what the Executive Order prescribes, to be sure the tasking of all the intelligence collection agencies of the government is well coordinated, to ensure that the analytic



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agencies all contribute to formulating national intelligence,

to ensure that the intelligence collected is well disseminated,

and to put together the budget which will balance the

All of those new authorities are in this Executive Order, and I would be remiss if I sat here and didn't tell you I want to carry them out. I have been ordered to do that, and I think if I carry them out well, which means cooperatively, harmoniously with the other agencies of the government, I will be the first true Director of Central Intelligence.

INTERVIEWER: The same gent also said that you had more and better access to the President than your predecessors, leading me to ask, when was the last time you had one of your briefings with him? You haven't had one this week, have you?

ADMIRAL TURNER: A week ago today.

INTERVIEWER: Could you, without, obviously, violating the confidentiality of those sessions, give me some idea of what those sessions are like --

ADMIRAL TURNER: Yes.

allocations between these activities.

INTERVIEWER: -- how you prepare for them?

ADMIRAL TURNER: I prepare for them very extensively. I have estimated to some other reporter one day that for every hour I put in, half-hour I put in with the President, I must put in ten to twelve hours of personal preparation.

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INTERVIEWER: Do you know what is on his mind, or do you just sort of prepare for anything that is likely to come up?

ADMIRAL TURNER: Well, I have the agenda. I construct the agenda, but that doesn't, of course, inhibit him from asking the things that aren't on it. I get surprised sometimes, but what I do, Strobe, is, I have to first look at what I have been giving him on a daily basis, because I communicate with the President daily in writting briefings, every morning, so I don't want to just give him that morning's material the day of the week that I see him.

I try to take a week's worth of material and perhaps put it in some perspective, looking at the longer range or the broader implications of it. You tell him today that Country X did so and so, Country Y did so and so, but maybe in the oral briefing of the week you say, well, the combination of those two things plus what Country Z did would indicate to me there is a trend in that part of the world.

Secondly, I have used a great deal of that time in the early days, and I used to meet with him more often, because we were taking a lot of time to learn about intelligence -- that no longer is necessary -- but I used to take a better part of one of those sessions a week to bring in somebody who was an expert in deciphering phoney



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handwriting, forgeries, to bring in somebody who operated one of our technical collection systems, and explain it to him, not everything we do in any of these categories, but a representative feel for it. It was very educational for me. We sort of went through this together, and learned about the different intelligence procedures.

That is pretty well behind us, but even today I do that once a month, bring somebody in for ten minutes to talk to him.

INTERVIEWER: Could you tell me who the most recent person you brought in was?

ADMIRAL TURNER: One of our chiefs of station from the DDO was back here in the United States. He happened to be a very competent younger officer in a rather important country, with good access to the leaders of that country, so I just took him in one day and sat him down with the President of the United States and said, Mr. President, I just want you to see what your CIA leading man in Country X or in a country looks like, and he talked to him for ten minutes.

The idea was to let the President understand that that chief spook in that country is a human being, and he also has a good grasp of that country. I encouraged him to tell him what that country's policies were, and why they were shaping a certain way.

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INTERVIEWER: You have taken Bob Bowey in once, didn't you?

ADMIRAL TURNER: Well, I take Bob Bowey fairly often. I took Bob Bowey a week ago today, and another analyst with him. The three of us went in, and Harold Brown, because it was the strategic analysis I am talking about, and I felt, you know, it is very detailed, it is very specific, and this analyst and Bob Bowey had done most of the work, and I thought they ought to get credit for it because it was a seminal piece of work.

I asked Harold Brown if he would be there because clearly he has got a tremendous interest in the strategic issue, and we had a very good discussion with the President between all of us. Every one participated in it.

So, that is the kind of things we do, overviews, and then also I take advantage of those meetings to take up non-time urgent issues, long-term things.

INTERVIEWER: Over the horizon stuff.

ADMIRAL TURNER: Yes, and I am not talking now so much — a lot of these are technical things. What is the possibility of developing lasers that will do so and so? How do we see the prospects for that? What is the trend for finding new ways of instant fertilizer that will double the yields, and things. It is astounding the research that is in the Intelligence Community, and some of these look like



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they are going to be important five, ten years from now, the trends. I try to sprinkle them in, and I have just been very pleased because in the process I have been very educated, but four or five months later I will pick up a newspaper or a classified intelligence report and suddenly I will find, hey, here is something that builds on what I told the President four or five months ago.

INTERVIEWER: That is very helpful. That is exactly the kind of human touch that we wanted to sort of bring the relationship alive a little bit.



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### STROBE TALBOTT, Diplomatic Correspondent, TIME Magazine

His various assignments have taken him to Eastern Europe, Moscow, China (accompanied the Kissinger entourage in October 1975) and in 1976 he was the White House correspondent for TIME.

In September 1975, Talbott wrote a TIME essay on the necessity of a good Central Intelligence Agency. Using all the revelations that were aired during the 1973-75 period, he pointed out that the CIA was a victim of circumstances in many cases and suggested that past Presidents and the Congress were to be blamed for ducking their responsibilities. In January 1976, Strobe Talbott interviewed Mr. Colby before he left the Agency. The questions were probing, yet fair.

## BRUCE NELAN, Washington Correspondent/Military, TIME Magazine

Nelan has spent at least nine years abroad. One of his posts included Bonn, West Germany, and he was considered a China watcher in the late '60's and early '70's.

Strobe Talbott and Bruce Nelan co-authored the 20 June 1977 TIME magazine article on the CIA. The article was critical of the Agency's past performances on prediction and reporting but had some very good pictures to depict the Agency in action on a daily basis (see attached).